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THE SOCIAL COST OF SOUTHERN RACE PREJUDICE

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In the end the solution of the southern race problem will come chiefly through education; but it will come primarily through the education of the white race. This may seem a hard saying; yet it is the conclusion reached after a conscientious study of the culture-standards of the white people of the Old South as tested by the criteria of world-culture. It is of course essential that the negro be efficiently educated; that he have and use the best means for the training of his hand and mind. He must have free opportunity to claim a full share in the spiritual and material heritage of the past. Only in that way can arise the new cravings, the new wants and ideals, which spell advancing civilization. At the best the raising of a people's ideals is a slow process; but what if through ignorance and mob-mind the dominant race erect a formidable barrier against the ascent of the race lower down on the culture ladder? The white people of the South hold the point of vantage, and they must therefore bear the higher responsibility. They possess the superior intelligence and the greater wealth which their vastly larger opportunity has yielded. They should be wise leaders in the mighty task of race-adjustment. That they have thus far decidedly failed in the function of wise leadership is due to their

retarded culture. Blind devotion to the dogma of the natural inferiority of the black race has cost the white race dearly. Perforce it has thus become a laggard in moral, economic, social, and scientific progress.

That result was inevitable under the condition just mentioned. Southern writers, with curious persistence, continue to exalt the quality of the culture-standard of the good old slavery days. "The finest civilization, Sir, that the world has ever seen!" Who has not heard it? This is a grave mistake. Relatively, a slave-ridden society cannot attain the finest civilization. The terms cancel each other. Its social ideals and customs are necessarily backward; and how can a noble literature arise in a community when all that is finest in the literature of the outside world is a reproach to its basic morals? In fact, for nearly a hundred years the intellectual energy of the South has been absorbed in the defense or protection of its cherished race-dogma; and the resultant sterility of thought in other directions has not yet been entirely remedied.

A PERVERTED PSYCHOLOGY THE CAUSE

The writer's views have been molded chiefly by his experiences in five states of the South. One cannot dwell long in such centers as New Orleans, Savannah, or Charleston without becoming aware of the singular obsession of southern thought. One's sympathy is quickened by the near view of the hard lot of the whites resulting from the catastrophe of the Civil War. Estates ravaged, fortunes ruined, pitiful makeshifts of gentle men and women to gain the daily bread! The situation is often pathetic. Far more pathetic, even tragic, because of its evil consequences, is the incessant harking back to the injustice and suffering caused by the northern invasion and conquest. These grievances are almost sure to be the burden of every conversation. Public discussion and even books of literary worth, such as those of Thomas Nelson Page, are pervaded by the sad lament or the indignant protest. With almost childish helplessness and inconsequence the "carpetbagger" and the "scalawag" are raised as a shield whenever the failures of the present, whether economic, social, or ethical, are alluded to. In fact, the South is facing the past. While it is looking backward

the possibilities of the future are not perceived. While it is fighting over again the battles of the Civil War the many-sided fight for social regeneration is feeble or misdirected.

The majority of the leaders of white society in the South are attempting the hard feat of advancing backward while heart and mind are turned toward the dead issues of the past. With almost religious fervor they persist in reopening the closed chapter. Perfectly natural, of course. Possibly any other people under similar conditions might yield to the same weakness. That is not the important lesson which the situation teaches. Seeing that it is a weakness, however human, a weakness which is hindering the progress of the South, why not make a heroic effort to overcome it by facing the other way? At least, why not join the group of new statesmen who, in opposition both to the old aristocracy and to the new democracy led by Hoke Smith, Tillman, and Vardaman, are earnestly striving to do this very thing through exorcising the fatal obsession?

Such a revolution must be preceded by a sounder education of the whites. In reality southern thought is vitiated by a strangely perverted psychology. Straight thinking is the essential condition of straight acting. Now, an observer in the Old South soon gains the impression that the logical faculty is in abeyance. With the exception of a few works published recently, even the best books written by southerners on the race question give evidence that the faculty for straight thinking is sadly warped and enfeebled.

The dogma of the inherent race-inferiority of the negro, on the validity of which in effect the South has staked its social welfare, is a signal proof of the existence either of this mental perversity or else of the arrested culture for which that dogma is responsible. It is safe to affirm that among scholars competent to render an authoritative judgment the ancient doctrine that some races are by nature inferior has been rejected. Every argument advanced in its support has been tested and found wanting. Even Sir Henry Maine's notion of naturally non-progressive races, like its elder sister, the belief in an inherited curse, has been relegated to the limbo of worn-out superstitions. The Japanese have long since effectually disturbed the complacency of Aryan pride; while the

Chinese, another "non-progressive" race, seem destined soon to administer even a greater shock to occidental self-conceit.

"That may be all right for other races; but, Sir, the southerner, who lives with and therefore understands him, knows that the negro is an exception." That answer would have a familiar sound; but is the negro an exception? To say the very least, investigation has put the burden of proof upon those who assert it. Every year brings stronger support for the new doctrine of the potential equality of all races. Peoples differ in their planes of cultural development, not in their inherent capacity for development. Races are low or high according to their rung on the ladder, not according to their ability to climb if given the same freedom of action. Under the eye of the expert, the existing differences in mental or moral status between brown and yellow, black and white, Oriental and Occidental, appear as the resultants of variations in environment, institutions, experience, opportunity. There is no sound reason for believing that the negro does not share in this equal potential chance for civilization; that he may not react to this mainspring of human hope. The proverbs of the natives of the Guinea coast, the ancestors of so many of the southern freedmen, reveal a capacity for abstraction, for generalization, equal to that of the Anglo-Saxon makers of Shakespeare's folk-lore; and similar evidence is accumulating in every direction.

Nevertheless, the white southerner is cocksure that the negro is a lower order of creation. However else they may differ in opinion, all parties and sects, from Virginia to Florida and from Georgia to Louisiana, are agreed that God made the black race of poorer clay. True, in the last quinquennium there have appeared a small number of southern men and women with trained minds who are releasing themselves from the iron grip of this paralyzing sectional tradition. A literature revealing the world-standard of scientific thought is slowly arising. Under leadership of educational statesmen, such as those constituting the "University Commission on Race Questions," the emancipation of the whites from their mental bondage may sometime take place. As yet the sway of tradition is practically unbroken. The writers that are molding public opinion in the South seem to be untouched by modern

research in ethnology, anthropology, and race-psychology. In this respect the polished Thomas Nelson Page is at one with the violent Shufeldt, the cruel and reckless Dixon, the bold and unflinching Tillman or Vardaman. In concluding his study of *The Negro: The Southerner's Problem*—a book whose deft but superficial arguments are shaping the stock phrases of southern conversation—he affirms as the first principle in the solution of that problem “the absolute and unchangeable superiority of the white race—a superiority . . . not due to any mere adventitious circumstances, such as superior educational and other advantages during some centuries, but an inherent and essential superiority, based on superior intellect, virtue, and constancy.” He does not “believe that the negro is the equal of the white, or ever could be the equal”; for, as he boldly asserts, “race-superiority is founded on courage (or, perhaps, ‘constancy’ is the better word), intellect, and the domestic virtues, and in these the white is the superior of every race.”

Here we have an authoritative expression of the race-cult of the southern white caste. Yet if one would but lift his gaze above Mason and Dixon's line he might find some curious facts hard to reconcile with his belief. Was not the French feudal lord as firmly convinced of *his* “absolute and unchangeable” superiority to the white hind that served and fed him? Does not the haughty Russ condemn, hate, and persecute the Jew, once the chosen of the Lord? In solving *his* race problem does not the landowning descendant of the old feudal baron in Sicily insist on the same basic principle of his heaven-born superiority to the starving peasants whom he despises and pitilessly exploits, although they may be as white as himself? Is not the proud Magyar of Hungary just as cocksure as is his brother in Virginia that the solution of *his* race problem depends on holding sacred the principle of his “absolute and unchangeable” superiority to the Croatian, the Slovak, even the Rumanian, although Kossuth was a Slovak and the Rumanian in large part derives his blood and his speech from the old Roman masters of the world! This is the so-called “state-idea” upon which the dominant Magyar aristocrat stakes his future social welfare. To him the other peoples of Hungary are “inferior” and not competent to govern themselves. According to one of his

sayings, "a Slovak is not a human being"—a "notion," remarks Booker T. Washintgon, "that seems to spring up quite naturally in the mind of any race which has accustomed itself to the slavery and oppression of another race."¹

So far from its being the essential factor in the solution of the southerner's problem, the dogma of race-inferiority is proving an almost insuperable barrier to its right settlement. If the criteria of world-culture and world-experience may be trusted for guidance, the first principle of race-adjustment is not a fixed formula of relative race-values. Rather it is such an organization of the community life as shall develop all the faculties of the composite population to their highest point of efficiency and permit their harmonious employment in doing the community's share of the world's work. A few examples may serve to reveal the psychological predicament of southern thought in trying to fit social action to an impossible formula.

Having accepted as a test of the validity of all policies—economic, social, or political—a race-dogma which does not square with world-judgment, it becomes needful to exclude outside criticism. The obsession is almost universal that only the southern whites can understand the negro. It would be just as reasonable to reject Bryce's criticism of American politicians or American institutions; for who that does not live with them can understand them? While the southern white stubbornly insists that the negro is the "southerner's problem," he seems inclined to deny the black southerner a full voice in its solution. In reality the white southerner does not know the negro. His peculiar institutional relation to the negro and the dogma by which that relation is justified have by no means tended to clarify his vision. It is another case of not being able to see the forest for the trees. Is there any real convincing evidence that adherents of the dogma have ever made any serious scientific study of the negro? Where is the ethical, psychological, anthropological, or economic monograph, the result of accredited modern scientific methods, produced by a representative of the southern white caste? Indeed, he could hardly approach such a study in the right spirit without violating the

¹ Booker T. Washington, *The Man Farthest Down* (1912), a very able discussion.

dogma which bars the path that alone can lead to scientific truth. In this case, the open mind as to the race-quality of the negro, which science would demand of her votary, might prove a fatal concession. Nor is this an imaginary mental embarrassment, as will presently appear.

A similar case of mental confusion is afforded by the general attitude of the southern whites regarding slavery and emancipation. Sadly they will tell you that slavery was an evil and that they would not have it back if they could. Yet the whole trend of daily conversation shows that they hardly believe what they say. It almost seems that this one great concession to world-ethics is made under protest. They are never weary of singing the charms of the halcyon days when the bondman knew his place and was not "uppish." In particular the black "mammy" is glorified. Who has not heard a hundred times of the wondrous affection existing between the children of the master and their black nurse! A veritable "mammy cult" has arisen, the implication being that freedom has failed to produce such ideal relations between the races as were fostered by slavery. The negro, we are assured, has much retrograded since emancipation. For a short time, it is conceded, some progress was made; but this was because the original freedmen had the advantage of the beneficent discipline which their former white owners had bestowed.

Yet the facts show that in the half-century since emancipation the black people have made amazing progress materially and spiritually, while the rate of advancement is rising. They are swiftly gaining control of agriculture, the chief source of southern wealth. In 1913 in that region were 890,000 negro farmers of whom 218,000 were the owners and cultivators of 15,702,579 acres of land. In addition, about 85,000,000 acres were tilled by black laborers and tenants.¹ Professor C. H. Brough, of the University of Arkansas writes:

Educationally the negroes of the South have made remarkable progress. In 1880, of the negro population above ten years of age, 70 per cent was illiterate. By the end of the next decade this illiteracy had been reduced to 57.1 per cent. During the last ten years of the nineteenth century there was an increase

¹ Professor William M. Hunley, of the University of Virginia, in *The Human Way*, pp. 26-35; cf. Professor E. C. Branson, in *ibid.*, 41-55.

of the negro population of 1,087,000 in the school age of ten years and over; yet, despite this increase, there was a decrease in illiteracy of 190,000. In 1912 there were over 2,000,000 between the ages of five and eighteen, or 54 per cent of the total number of educable negro children, enrolled in the common schools of the former slave states, and the percentage of illiteracy among the negroes is only 27.5.

All this has been achieved, be it remembered, under a very inefficient school system and with much less aid from the state than that given to white children. The progress in the winning of worldly goods is equally surprising. According to another southern writer.

In 1863 the total wealth of the negroes of this country was about \$20,000,000. Now their total wealth is over \$700,000,000. No other emancipated people have made so great a progress in so short a time. The Russian serfs were emancipated in 1861. Fifty years later, it was found that 14,000,000 of them had accumulated about \$500,000,000 worth of property, or about \$36 per capita, an average of \$200 per family. Fifty years after their emancipation only about 30 per cent of the Russian peasants were able to read and write. After fifty years of freedom the ten million negroes in the United States have accumulated \$700,000,000 worth of property, or about \$70 per capita, which is an average of \$350 per family. After fifty years of freedom 70 per cent of them have acquired some education in books.

Such a "picture as that is surely good cause for pride and an eloquent assurance as to the future."¹

Race prejudice knows no logic. In countless ways the vision of the southern white is distorted by his dogma. It gives him a grotesque image of the negro, physically, mentally, morally, and in all his social relations. Possessed by the idea that the black man is by nature inferior to the white man, that his capacity for mental growth is restricted by biological laws which no environment, however good, can overcome, he ignores the findings of modern science and explains away all opposing evidence. Hence any notable achievement of the negro he credits to mere imitation, not to native talent; or else he ascribes it to a "bastard infusion of white blood." The "negroid," the "half-caste," the "mongrel," serves in place of evidence. Under the "hothouse culture" of the "negro universities," we are told, a "strange hybrid race" has

¹ Professor William M. Hunley, University of Virginia, *The Human Way*, p. 29, quoting Monroe N. Work, *Fifty Years of Negro Progress*.

resulted—"strange ethnologically, psychologically, mentally, and in their social caste"—a race which in "exceptional cases" has "almost produced prodigies." These "racial hermaphrodites"—to draw further upon the lurid epithets of the editor¹ of *The Race Question and Southern Symposium*—"socially coddled by Beacon Hill aristocracy and educationally pampered by northern philanthropy," have "wrought a remarkable influence upon the development of the colored race, and in many regards a most malign influence."

In fact, the white southerner's obsession regarding the natural inferiority of the African has given a queer twist to his views on negro education. Persons of ordinary culture admit the social necessity of providing schools for black children; but they do so with hesitation. They dread the phantom of social equality. On the other hand, the majority of the southern whites are opposed to negro education. Apparently the "only way to prevent the evil effects of the negro domination which the South dreads is to educate, educate, educate. The southerner will scoff at this statement. He takes the position that the negro is so nearly savage he cannot be bettered; he honestly believes that the slightest tinge of education not only destroys the usefulness of the negro as a laborer, but injures him morally and makes him a menace to the community."² In his distorted fancy, education—the lever of civilization for the other races—cannot lift the negro.

Unmindful of the fact that in all civilized lands those who have no property are taxed, not directly, but indirectly, for public education, the southern white boasts of his generosity in paying tribute for negro schools. His delusion is exposed by a southern scholar whose vision is clarified by scientific training:

It is a matter of common knowledge that in the division of the school fund the negro is not fairly treated. Politicians have won many votes by advocating that the moneys be divided in proportion to the direct contributions to the treasury by the respective races. They are either ignorant or else they deliberately blind themselves to a fact that every student of elementary economics fully understands—namely, that the taxpayer is not always the

¹ R. W. McAdam, whose magazine came into existence, seemingly, to justify the Atlanta race-riots of 1906.

² Raymond Patterson, *The Negro and His Needs* (New York, 1911), pp. 192-93.

taxbearer. The white man pays many taxes whose burdens rest upon the black man's shoulders either wholly or in part. Whether the man who hands the money to the tax collector is white or black is a matter of minor importance. That our taxes as at present administered fall most heavily on those least able to pay is everywhere recognized, and from this it must follow that the negro, in proportion to his ability, bears a greater burden from taxation than does the white man. Professor Charles L. Coon, of North Carolina, has demonstrated that the education of the negro is no burden on the white race, at least in the states where statistics are available for determining the question. Forty per cent of the children of school age in eleven states are negroes, and yet they receive only 15 per cent of the school fund. Only 53 per cent of the negro children of school age in the South ever enter a schoolhouse. There is evidence that in some communities the negro is actually being taxed to support white schools.¹

The white southerner is the victim of autosuggestion. The least hint or implication of race-equality causes a "disaggregation of consciousness" and throws him into the hypnotic trance. His hypersensibility regarding his superiority of blood sometimes approximates megalomania. In spite of the teachings of modern science, he seems bent on classifying the negro as a subhuman animal. His self-consciousness resembles that of the social "climber" who is really afraid that without eternal watchfulness he cannot keep the coveted place among the élite. Desperately, with ludicrous though pathetic zeal, he denies to black people the conventional titles of "Mr." and "Mrs." and ostracizes the northern visitor who uses these terms of courteous address. In the same spirit, to preserve the integrity of the white caste, he defends with "hard logic" the policy of "Jim Crow" segregation; although, naïvely, he may permit the colored nurse or chaperone to cross the race-deadline and sit with the white child in the favored end of the street car.

Similar mental perversity is displayed by the southern white in accounting for the results of the physical and social environment of the negro. On the average the negro death-rate, for instance, is nearly twice as high as that of the white; and "the diseases which exact the heaviest toll are consumption, pneumonia, scrofula,

¹ Professor W. G. Scroggs, University of Louisiana, in *The Human Way*, p. 71; cf. Coon, *Public Taxation and Negro Schools*, in part reprinted in *Atlanta University Publications*, No. 16, pp. 120 ff.

syphilis, and infantile diseases." What is the cause of this greater mortality? The scientist would seek for it in social and environmental conditions; the southern white finds it in the lower vitality or resisting power of the black stock. According to Frederick L. Hoffman,¹ the "vitality of the negro may well be considered the most important phase of the so-called race problem"; for "it is a fact" that "of all races for which statistics are obtainable" the "negro shows the least power of resistance in the struggle of life." "Mr. Hoffman's prepossessions," says Professor Josiah Morse, of the University of South Carolina, "have patently led him to commit the fallacy of 'false cause.' For it is also a fact that there is more poverty among the negroes, more illiteracy and ignorance of the laws of health, modern sanitation, and personal and public hygiene; that their living quarters are inferior, their physical environment less sanitary, and that a much larger percentage of their mothers are breadwinners." Since these are the causes "of disease among all peoples, the world over, why may they not account for the excessive disease and death-rate among the negroes?" Moreover, the United States Census for 1900 proves that in this regard the negro is simply a human being, amenable to the same influences as is the white man. According to differing conditions in that year the negro urban death-rate varied from 46.7 in Charleston, South Carolina, to 18 in Cleveland, Ohio. Again:

The death-rate of the Chicago negroes is lower than that of the whites in New Orleans, Charleston, Savannah, Atlanta, Mobile, and Memphis; that of the Boston negroes is lower than the white rate in Charleston; and the negro rates in Philadelphia, Indianapolis, and Chicago are lower than the white rates in both Charleston and Savannah. The Savannah white infantile mortality is higher than the negro rates in Pittsburgh, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Chicago, and Boston. In the northern cities, too, the negro rates approximate more nearly the total rates than in the southern cities. Furthermore, there has been a constant decrease in both the disease- and death-rates for the negroes in all the cities, both south and north, during the past thirty-five or forty years.²

Blinded by the same fatal obsession, the southern white indicts the whole black race for the guilt of "criminal instinct," while very

¹ Hoffman, *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*, p. 37.

² Morse, in *The Human Way*, pp. 59-61. Consult *Atlanta University Publications*, No. 2, on negro mortality.

often inadvertently he bears witness to the honesty and high moral character of individual negroes. "Pilfering is a hereditary trait in the negro race," solemnly asserted the white president of an industrial school for blacks in Charleston. A few minutes later, caught off his guard, he told the writer a story to show the pecuniary trustworthiness of his colored janitor. Every educated person, in his right mind, now understands how great a rôle bad social conditions play in the etiology of crime. He knows, too, that criminality among the negroes varies according to such conditions no less and no more than it does among other races, whatever the color. To the white southerner criminality is an inborn race trait of the African. "Sir, the negro has no moral sense," is the dictum one hears a thousand times during a sojourn in the South. "The 'nigger,' Sir, has no ethical nature at all," exclaimed a timber contractor in Georgia; and then, an hour after, while discussing another topic, he proceeded to praise warmly the fine honor and loyalty of his Florida brother's negro "hands" who "would not steal his money if they found it strewn on the ground."

This brings us to the root of the matter. The false dogma of the inborn "moral uncleanness" of the negro race is a powerful hindrance to social progress in the South. Its fruit is the continuous tragedy of negro lynching; and in various ways the contagion of violence thus produced is releasing the subconscious beast in the lower strata of the population, both black and white. That lust is a racial "instinct" in the negro—uncontrollable and ineradicable—is the sinister lesson taught by the novels, the dramas, the essays, the newspapers, and the political demagogues that have shaped public opinion in the South. The most suggestive epithets are devised to kindle the passions of the mob. "In the negro's crime of crimes," we are told, "there is a certain element of atavism, reaching back with animal instinct to the jungle nature of his ancestors." The "future of the negro in the South is altogether dependent on the crime of rape."¹ According to the mayor of a Mississippi town, "the ruling passion of the negro criminal is to despoil white women, and no white woman feels safe in her home, nor daughter under the parental roof without a protector and a

¹ R. W. McAdam, in *The Race Question and Southern Symposium*, pp. 6, 12.

double-barrel shotgun. . . . I confess partiality to the pure, sunny-haired Anglo-Saxon girl over the beastly Senegambian. I belong to the white race, 'The heir of all the ages in the foremost ranks of time.'"¹

Now the facts show that this "terrible psychology" of the African is an illusion born of race prejudice. The negro is not unique regarding the "crime of crimes." Under similar conditions the white man is just as guilty as the black. In the South he has been far more guilty, because the relative helplessness of negro women has exposed them to his lust. The history and statistics of lynchings are enlightening. According to Dr. W. D. Weatherford, field executive secretary of the Robert E. Lee Hall of the Blue Ridge Association—speaking at the Southern Sociological Congress, 1916—the lynching habit has spread among the southern whites through what we may call suggestion-imitation, beginning with the whipping of Indians, negroes, and whites for misdemeanors.

After the war, it seemed necessary to mete out immediate and harsh punishment to negro men who molested white women. Then it was an easy step to lynch a negro for murder, and finally for smaller offenses. From this it was no difficult step to lynching a white man for an assault on a woman, then it became easy to lynch a white man for murder, and so the process has gone forward, ever increasing in facility and excuse.

In the first quarter of 1913 were reported 13 lynchings of negroes, but not one was for the crime against women. After showing that between 1882 and 1903 only 34 per cent of the lynchings of colored men were for the alleged "awful crime of assault on white women," the courageous southern writer just quoted administered the following salutary rebuke:

We white men must start a crusade against the white vultures who prey on colored girls. Immorality with colored women is not nearly so prevalent as it was before the war. In fact, comparatively speaking, it is a thing of the past, but any man who knows the facts knows full well that for every white woman assaulted by a negro man, there are a number of colored girls who are seduced by white men. If there were fifty white women assaulted by negroes in 1916, I have not a doubt there were many times that many colored girls

¹ W. A. Holman, in *The Race Question and Southern Symposium*, p. 34. For a good discussion of criminality among negroes, see *Atlanta University Publications*, No. 9 (1904).

seduced by low-down white men. . . . We of the white race must brand every white man who seduces a colored girl as a fiend of the same stripe as the negro who rapes a white woman.¹

Would it be wise, in view of these facts, to jump to the conclusion that the white race is "by nature morally unclean" and should therefore be rigidly segregated in order to protect from defilement the women of African blood?

ASSIMILATION, NOT SEGREGATION, THE SOLUTION

It is perfectly clear to the sympathetic student of social life in the old slave states that a perverse psychology is costing the South very dearly. The tremendous power of the mass of suggestion presented to consciousness through the daily and hourly repetition of the vicious phrases giving expression to the dogma of race-inferiority could not fail to have a harmful effect. It has caused mutual distrust and antagonism between the races which seemingly—whether they so will or not—must continue to dwell together. Had they not looked at the situation through the distorting glass of race prejudice, the southern whites must have perceived that the freedmen stood in sore need of all the aid and inspiration which the more fortunate class could give them. Instead of inspiration, they got discouragement and contempt; instead of having his self-reliance and self-respect stimulated, the negro was told that he was made of inferior clay and could never hope to reach a high plane of achievement. Could the constant repetition of such a suggestion fail to be terribly depressing to the ambition of an ignorant, superstitious, and propertyless people just released from bondage?

The hard task of material and social reconstruction which confronted the southern people after the war constituted, one might believe, a challenge to the closest sympathy and co-operation on the part of the two races. Agriculture, industry, education, every branch of culture, demanded team-work of the most efficient kind. A false sectional philosophy, a perverse provincial psychology which ignores the teachings of modern science, has hindered the full realization of such united effort. Of course from the outset there were intelligent persons in the South who knew the truth. In

¹ *Survey*, May 20, 1916, p. 196.

recent years there are distinct signs of an intellectual awakening. At last, under the wise leadership of a growing number of men and women with modern ideas, the southern mind is being released from its obsession. The political demagogue, whose capital is the reckless appeal to race prejudice, is slowly losing his grip on the popular imagination. It is becoming more and more clear that the supreme need of the South is a more efficient, up-to-date education of its white youth. It goes without saying that the education of the negroes is a social necessity. Excellent models have been provided, for instance, by R. R. Wright, in Georgia, and by Booker T. Washington, in Alabama. It is even more important, because of their greater responsibility, that the whites be properly trained for their just share of the world's work. The provincial tradition of culture must be replaced by the world-standard. How shall this change be brought about?

First of all, the new education must have as its ideal, its goal, the social, the cultural, assimilation of the two races. The sojourner in the South is struck by the slight progress made in the chief processes of socialization. Until a few years ago hardly more than a beginning was made in the great social services which measure the march of civilization in the North and in other lands. Ask the "average" citizen, for instance, why associated charities are not organized, juvenile courts established, the chain gang abolished, the slums cleansed, public playgrounds opened, a modern system of sanitation installed, better living-quarters provided, or compulsory education sanctioned, and he will refer you to the existing segregation of the races for an explanation. It is clear that these and similar efforts for community uplift require sympathetic human co-operation. In the white southerner's view that would be a step toward the social assimilation of black and white human beings, to prevent which he has steadily and sternly erected the race-barrier.

Now social assimilation is a psychic fact. It does not necessarily mean amalgamation, which is a physical fact. Social assimilation means primarily the sharing of the same cultural ideal, while amalgamation means a mixture of blood. The two facts are confused in the southerner's mind. For him assimilation

spells miscegenation—legal or illegal—“that foul apparition that stalks about in the noonday of the negro’s racial hopes.” So far as illicit miscegenation is concerned, it is patent that it is chiefly the white man’s crime. So far as intermarriage is concerned, the “foul apparition” is more the creature of the excited brain of the white than it is the goal of the “negro’s racial hopes.” Growing race-consciousness and race-pride are raising before the negro’s vision a quite different goal; and, besides, for the eugenist skin-color is by no means a matter of chief social moment.¹

Decidedly the striving for racial segregation is retarding both the material and the moral progress of the South. “Jim Crowism” is not only bad social policy, it is often economic robbery. On the southern railways the colored passenger pays the same price as the white passenger pays for much better service.

This unfair treatment of the negro by common carriers is inexcusable. No honest southerner would countenance a white merchant’s selling his negro customers inferior goods at the same price at which he supplied his white patrons with a better article. Yet we allow our railways to do practically the same thing with impunity. Such a policy can only engender bitterness in the negro, and if persisted in it may put in jeopardy the whole principle of racial segregation in interstate travel.

According to the southern scholar just quoted there are other examples of dishonest discrimination against the negro. Such are the unfair division of the school fund, the excessive rent charges for “abominable housing facilities,” and the unjust penalties imposed by the courts.²

The South should rid herself of an ideal which makes it hard for her people—white and black united by the tie of mutual respect and common ideals—to stand shoulder to shoulder in a mighty “drive” for the speedy mastery of her splendid resources. To achieve this result her education must be socialized. She needs fewer schools where the military virtues are accented and expurgated textbooks used, and more schools where the white youth, both men and women, may get vocational training. In particular,

¹ Cf. C. B. Davenport, in *Eugenics Record Office Bulletin*, No. 9.

² Professor W. O. Scroggs, of the University of Louisiana, in *The Human Way*, pp. 70-77; cf. the enlightening chapter of Mrs. Hammond in *Black and White*, pp. 46-89.

much more attention than now should be given to economics, anthropology, sociology, social psychology, and the other social sciences. The taboo must be lifted from the free scientific handling of the race question. That it is already being lifted no one can doubt who is familiar with the books of such writers as Mrs. Hammond or Dr. Weatherford, or with the remarkable papers read at the Southern Sociological Congress. The sudden outbreak of savagery in Georgia, where during the first seven months of 1916, it is reported, thirteen negroes were done to death by white mobs, may be due, like the witchcraft craze at Salem, to special local suggestion; and, as in the case of that belated mania, it need surprise no one should the shock given by the present homicidal epidemic react for the better upon the more enlightened social conscience of the South. A saner public opinion is surely forming. Moreover, the "overwhelming majority of southern women have always repudiated the need of mob-murder for their protection."¹ The solution of the race problem seems really in sight.

¹ Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 65.